

# BHINNEKA

NOVEMBER 2016

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**PAPUA: THE CONTINUANCE OF THE 1965 GENOCIDE**



# BHINNEKA

NOVEMBER 2016

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Half a Century after the 1965 Genocide:  
<https://archive.org/stream/BhinnekaOct15English/BhinnekaOct15englishrevised#page/n57/mod2/up>

The International People's Tribunal on the 1965 Genocide:  
<https://archive.org/details/BhinnekaMarch2016>



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# W

hy do we persist in scrutinising the 1965 genocide? Many Indonesians have asked me: Why do you continue to scrape "old wounds"? What is the point?

What most of them do not realise is that the past has an extraordinary impact on our future. Thus, rekindling our memory of the past is not only to open up old wounds. We are moving into the future; however, since all of our memories are shaped by the past, our identity will never be separated from the past and if the past is still being manipulated, how can we see the future with clarity? The 1965 genocide still has a great impact today, not only in Indonesia but also internationally. Since 1965, the Indonesian military has had tremendous power and was allowed to commit all kinds of violent acts with impunity.

This tremendous power of the Indonesian military continues until the present time. Subsequent to the 1965 genocide, other human rights abuses committed by the Indonesian military, continued in various places. One example is in Papua, which had been "mortgaged" by Soeharto to Freeport, after discarding Sukarno. Although the current President of Indonesia, Jokowi, had promised to deal with human rights abuses in the past, he refuses to apologise to the victims of the 1965 genocide, most probably because of pressure from the military.

Similar to the 1965 genocide, the number of victims is not known: no one has properly recorded in detail how many Papuans have been killed by the Indonesian military. Activists who have investigated this case often face threats, terror and even death. For the sake of maintaining its coalition with Freeport, the Indonesian government does not hesitate to oppress its own people, so that the area with the largest gold mine in the world, consists of a population that can be classified as the poorest in the world. Consequently, it is not an exaggeration to state that Papua is the continuance of the 1965 genocide.



| SOE TJEN MARCHING |

TESTIMONY



# TRADING GOLD with SOULS

{ DHIANITA KUSUMA PERTIWI }

”

The term "third world countries" was coined during the Cold War to describe any countries that were non-aligned with either NATO or the Communist Bloc. Following the fall of the Soviet Union, the use of this term now tends to be associated with a country's economic, political, and welfare status and includes such countries as India, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Recently, the mass media publicly announced that Indonesia is no longer considered to be one of the third world countries. The statement was supported by the fact that Indonesia has become the third-largest democracy in the world as the consequence of the fall of New Order regime.



**W**e may be proud of this change in status, but ironically there are certain regions within Indonesia that can still be labeled as "third world". We know the term "orang-orang timur" (The Eastern People) labels Indonesian citizens who live in the provinces of Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara and the Maluku Islands. Historically, those areas were included in the State of East Indonesia, a post-World War II federal state formed by the Netherlands in 1948. The state was dismissed in 1951 and consequently become the area of the Republic of Indonesia. However, following the dismissal, the Javanese tended to degrade the inhabitants of "the East" based on their economic, political and welfare status. If we compare the development of Jakarta in the last 10 years with Timika in the last 20 years, it is clear that Papua is not the priority for the central government.

*Since Soekarno became President, it has become public knowledge that Java has always been the favourite. The mass media have often encouraged people to attack each other by highlighting the life of orang-orang timur.*

Since Soekarno became President, it has become public knowledge that Java has always been the favourite. The mass media have often encouraged people to attack each other by highlighting the life of orang-orang timur. Some are still living primitive lifestyles and isolated from the modern world. In fact, the current condition is a continuation of the civil-war propaganda promoted by Soeharto, the second president of Indonesia, reigning over the people ruthlessly for three decades.

Papua has changed names several times since the pre-colonial era, colonial era and modern era. During the colonial era the region was known as part of "Dutch New Guinea". Following its annexation in 1969, it changed to "West Irian" or "Irian Barat" until 1973. Thereafter it was renamed as "Irian Jaya" by the Soeharto administration. The name "Papua" was adopted in 2002, following the fall of New Order regime.

It is not an uncommon perception in Indonesia that Papuans are viewed as trouble makers because they are often held responsible by the mass media for the chaos happening in the region. Indeed, violence often happens in Papua.

However my analysis regarding this highlights that the actions taken by the Papuans are actually a form of self-defense. Papuans are often attacked and harmed and they need to defend themselves.

The Amungme, one of the traditional tribes in Papua have been attacked for more than forty years by the existence of PT Freeport Indonesia. They have been evicted from their own land and moved into a residence called as Kwamki Lama. This residence was built by the company and the government to house Papuans who had already moved from their traditional lands into the concession area. The condition is in a stark contrast to the elegance of the company's Sheraton Hotel and the Western style town of Kuala Kencana featuring a gym, air-conditioned shopping center, swimming pool, schools, office blocks and park lands. The Amungme are powerlessly having given up their own lands for the sake of the government's ambition to pursue international investment.

The history of PT Freeport Indonesia can be traced back to two decades before the country achieved its independence. In 1939, a copper mountain in the highland of Mimika was first discovered by Jean Jacques Dozy, a Dutch geologist working for Shell. The name Erstberg was given by Dozy and his discovery was publicly reported. It was Freeport Sulphur, the predecessor of Freeport-McMoRan Copper and Gold of the United States which first became interested in Erstberg in 1959. The company was actually preparing some plans to make the Soekarno government sign a deal for the Erstberg project. However the pro-Communist government under Soekarno made the investment unattractive and consequently, the company stepped back.

Soekarno was toppled in 1966 following the Jakarta coup and it became an opportunity for the company to officially open negotiations with the Indonesian general. The presidential authority was then handled by Soeharto, whose New Order regime's priority was to gain international recognition and political support. The three-decade-regime promoted a decidedly pro-West, pro-foreign investment alignment. Finally, in 1967, Freeport became the first foreign company to sign a contract with the new regime.

*“The Military handled the situation by arresting the indigenous people, destroying their houses and some of them were killed. Authorities mentioned 900 people died during the attack, but the local witness assumed the number of victims was twice as high*

Shortly after the contract signing, the conflict between the corporation and indigenous Papuans started to ignite. The Amungme, Kamoro, Moni, and Nduga, who are the indigenous Papuan groups, have suffered from the 'modern colonization' by the company. Their lands are now comprised of Freeport's mining and infrastructure and the concession area. The mining operation of Freeport has caused a massive, permanent and escalating disruption to the lives of the indigenous people in Papua. In 1965, Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, OPM) was established in the West Papua territory and agitated for independence for the provinces. The central government banned their operations and labelled the members of the organization as traitors.

Regarding the formation of OPM, I assume that the organization was created by the West Papuans to simply make the other side of the country aware of their existence and suffering as part of Indonesia. Their actions have created awareness of their suppressed condition at the hands of both the company and central government with its helper, Indonesian National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, TNI). It is so ironic that the government, especially the New Order regime, chose to increase the welfare of the company instead of the Papuans.

Since the mining operation started, there have been several cases of human rights violations which were suspected to be the strategy of Soeharto to accelerate the business run by PT Freeport Indonesia. The first documented Indonesian military killings of indigenous people in the Freeport area occurred in 1972. Researchers have recorded more than 150 cases of individual killings of the Amungme and other indigenous people in and around the mine since the 1970s. Additionally, the war among tribes and killing among the indigenous people are the results of behavior of the authority and company, the fractures within the community and continuing years of antagonism between local people versus the foreigners.

In 1977, the Amungme and six other tribes bombed the pipelines. The Military handled the situation by arresting the indigenous people, destroying their houses and some of them were killed. Authorities mentioned 900 people died during the attack, but the local witness assumed the number of victims was twice as high. Military Operation Area (Daerah Operasi Militer, DOM) became the solution by the New Order regime to solve the chaotic condition in Papua during 1978-1998.

The implementation of DOM was proven to be nothing more than an emblazing war between Papuan indigenous people versus PT Freeport Indonesia which has been fully strengthened by the government. In 1995, Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) issued the very first report regarding Freeport-related human rights violation cases in Papua. Entitled *Trouble at Freeport: Eyewitness Accounts June 1994-February 1995*, it also contains the accusation that Freeport's security forces were involved in the killing of the indigenous people in the concession. The report highlighted the failure of the Soeharto government to protect its most disadvantaged, isolated and depoliticized citizens. Fortunately, the report has become a doorway

for international leaks of information. Freeport became known for being in the ignoble position of relying on the military to protect its operation proving the government's support for the human rights violations.

Following the fall of Soeharto in 1998, the human rights violations have not ceased. Some public figures among the indigenous people, as members of OPM or not, are still being threatened. For instance, Theys Hiyo Eluay, the Chairman of the Papua Presidium Council of West Papua was murdered in 2001 by the members of the military forces. Ironically, no one related to the murder case was ever taken into custody because the government considered them to be 'heroes' for Indonesia. Up to this day, some Western Papuan figures have been making some efforts to fight for their rights as landowners or simply as human. One of the examples is the legal action taken by Tom Beanal, the leader of the Amungme Tribal Council of Lembaga Suku Amungme alleging that Freeport MacMoRan Inc. committed environmental damage, human right abuses and cultural genocide. The effort was the first legal action ever taken by any indigenous people or an individual in Indonesia. Besides, some other actions including demonstrations or discussions with the representatives of the company have been done by Papuans.

While in fact, up to this day, regardless of the democratic system that the central government has applied for almost two decades, Papuans are still living in the same condition as they have during the New Regime era. As PT Freeport became the largest copper and gold mining company in the world, Papua became the forgotten part of this nation. Let me relate this to the case of lands and buildings eviction in Jakarta. The condition is relatively the same, with several communities of people in specific areas having no choice but to leave their belongings behind. We may consider their efforts to defend their lands as heroic, but why do we label Papuans as the same as those who are rebels? In this case, we should be wiser in choosing any terms to identify a specific community of people. If we are still unable to give direct help and aid for Papuans in relation to their problems with PT Freeport Indonesia, at least we need to stop applying negative judgment to them, realizing that they have been acting in self-defense. We cannot blame them for trying to survive the colonization of their own country.

**DHIANITA KUSUMA PERTIWI**

Young writers and student who have just published their novel:  
*Buku Harian Keluarga Kiri.*





STARE IN FOREST /  
BAYUN, 2013

Forest is central to Asmats' life, where as hunter-gatherers they hunt and gain food from the forest. Wood in Asmat has been increasingly diminished due to excessive logging by foreigners employing the Asmat themselves as loggers.

# NOT A BLANK CANVAS

{ JOSHUA L. IRWANDI }

**"NOT A BLANK CANVAS"** is a long-term documentary project on the Asmat tribe, West Papua, Indonesia.

Since MICHAEL ROCKEFELLER went missing in 1961 during an art-collecting expedition, little has improved in Asmat. Being in the 21st century and living in subsistence, the Asmats seek for means of survival. Ever since the Indonesian government annexed West Papua from Netherlands New Guinea, the Indonesian transmigration program has brought an influx of pendatang (foreigners from other islands of Indonesia) over to Asmat and occupying the Asmats' land.

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Not A Blank Canvas



Although Asmat religious feasts are still happening and some still cling on to past traditions, the Asmats often found themselves in an entangled world where they find little but crisis of identity. Economically the Asmats are disadvantaged by the pendatang, as a result they are marginalized in their own land. The pendatang inhabit centers of villages and control most businesses, while the Asmats live on the outskirts. The Asmats have limited access to healthcare and lacks of awareness means death rates are high, preventable diseases such as malaria and leprosy are widespread. Education is scarce with limited teachers and undetermined school systems. There is religious tension between the Catholics, whose missionaries first converted the Asmats, and Islam, the main religion of the pendatang. The Asmat's only gold rush is the annual Asmat Culture Festival, where tourists and local governments purchase their art, however the running of it renders the Asmat carvers, whose carvings were known to museums in America and Europe, extremely exploited.

Environmentally, sea level is rising and coastal villages are sinking. Also the currently under construction Transpapuan Highway across Papua will forever change the river landscape of Asmat. At the current rate and with the societal issues that follows, the projection is by 2030 less than 20% of Papuans will cease to exist in comparison to pendatang, and Asmat is only one from the hundreds of tribes of West Papua.

Through my images, I intend to raise awareness of Asmat's issues, reinvestigate the consequences of changes that have taken and are taking place, but also to celebrate their survival until now. The Asmat is not a blank canvas where influences and changes can be imposed upon them. The Asmats have their own way to respond, how they respond and what their responses are will make it difficult to predict their future.

SAGO PALM /  
ER, 2015

A man from the village of Er cuts off sago palm, before bringing the tree down to cultivate the sago. Sago is the primary source of food for the Asmats, each tree and surrounding areas belonging to a certain clan in the village.





POKMAN FEAST /  
SONA, 2015

The Pokman feast is a three-part Asmat feast symbolising resurrection. In this second part of the feast, women and men play tug of war using a dugout canoe.



#### COLLECTED FIREWOOD / BAYUN, 2013

Women from the village of Bayun return from the forest at sundown after collecting firewood.



**TELKOMSEL TELEPHONE TOWER IN POS /  
FROM ERMA, 2014**

Telkomsel is the only Indonesian telecommunications provider in Asmat. With 60,000 Asmat population in Asmat excluding foreigners, there are only 3 Telkomsel telephone towers in Asmat: 1 in the capital of Agats, 1 in the village of Atsj, and 1 in Pos. The tower in Pos, however, took three years to turn on. Constructions take a long time to get done in Asmat, causing communication and logistical chaos. The tower, however, is the very reason foreigners can penetrate deep within the Asmats' land.



## SPEEDBOAT / MOMUGU, 2014

Stranded speedboat in the village of Momugu. The traditional canoeing way of life of the Asmat is slowly replaced by motorboats and speedboats, with local government often subsidising speedboats for the Asmat locals, resulting in haphazard maintenance and frequent abuse.



## LOGGING POST / AGATS, 2014

A logging post in the capital Agats where foreigners, often owners of such posts, employ Asmat people to log the wood that the Asmat people themselves have gathered from the forest. In 1982, Asmat was a place where illegal loggings by the military and traders were rampant. Asmat people were abused; they were not being paid, whipped by stingray tails, and were strongly discouraged from celebrating their rituals. The Catholic Bishop at the time Alphonse Sowada pledged against such activities, resulting in the removal of the perpetrators (mostly government officials). Today, however, loggings are still rife among the Asmat and the traders themselves.





## UNREST OVER GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY / ER, 2014

Sofia Tomannak reacts angrily as she does not get a share of the government subsidy money (Dana Respek), where thousands of dollars equivalent of rupiah in cash are distributed among members of the villages. The corruption of such subsidised money lead to frequent outrage amongst the villagers demanding equal distribution.

The Dana Respek money, administered by the Indonesian government, were intentionally used for development projects in the province of Papua. However, abuse of the money by the distributor renders the villagers never having received appropriate shares of the money. The distributors, sometimes Asmat people themselves, naturally will give larger share to their next of kin.

**MOTHER AND CHILD / BAYUN, 2013**

Molestina Werem takes care of her child in the village of Bayun. Asmat women are responsible for taking care of the children, gathering food and firewood, and all the rest of the heavy work.

Ever since headhunting was disbanded by the Indonesian government, Asmat men, who traditionally function as war chiefs on headhunting raids, are left with little to do, putting immense pressure onto Asmat women. Domestic violence becomes commonplace. It is also common that the Asmat men engage in polygamy, incest, and unsolicited sexual promiscuity, causing further repression of the Asmat women.



### POKMAN FEAST / SONA, 2015

Sona villagers take part in the second part of the Pokman feast. In this part of the feast, women and men play the equivalent of tug-of-war using a canoe. Women and men alike are allowed to playfully attack one another, in this case men pulling the canoe are blinded by lime hurled from a bamboo that belongs to one of the participants.

The Pokman feast is a three-part Asmat feast symbolising resurrection. As one of the feasts in the Unir Sirau (Keenok) region, the Pokman feast is on par with other resurrection feasts such as jipae in Joerat region.





## THE OTHER SIDE OF POKMAN / SONA, 2015

At the end of the canoe tug of war, the winning party (men or women) drag the canoe back to the river. The Pokman feast is a three-part Asmat feast symbolising resurrection. As one of the feasts in the Unir Sirau (Keenok) region, the Pokman feast is on par with other resurrection feasts such as jipae in Joorat region.



## ALBERTUS KASEI / YASIUW, 2013

Albertus Kasei is an albino who lives in the Yasiuw compound of the village of Atsj. While albinism are treated with less harshness in Asmat, Asmat albinos are not allowed to marry as it is considered taboo.



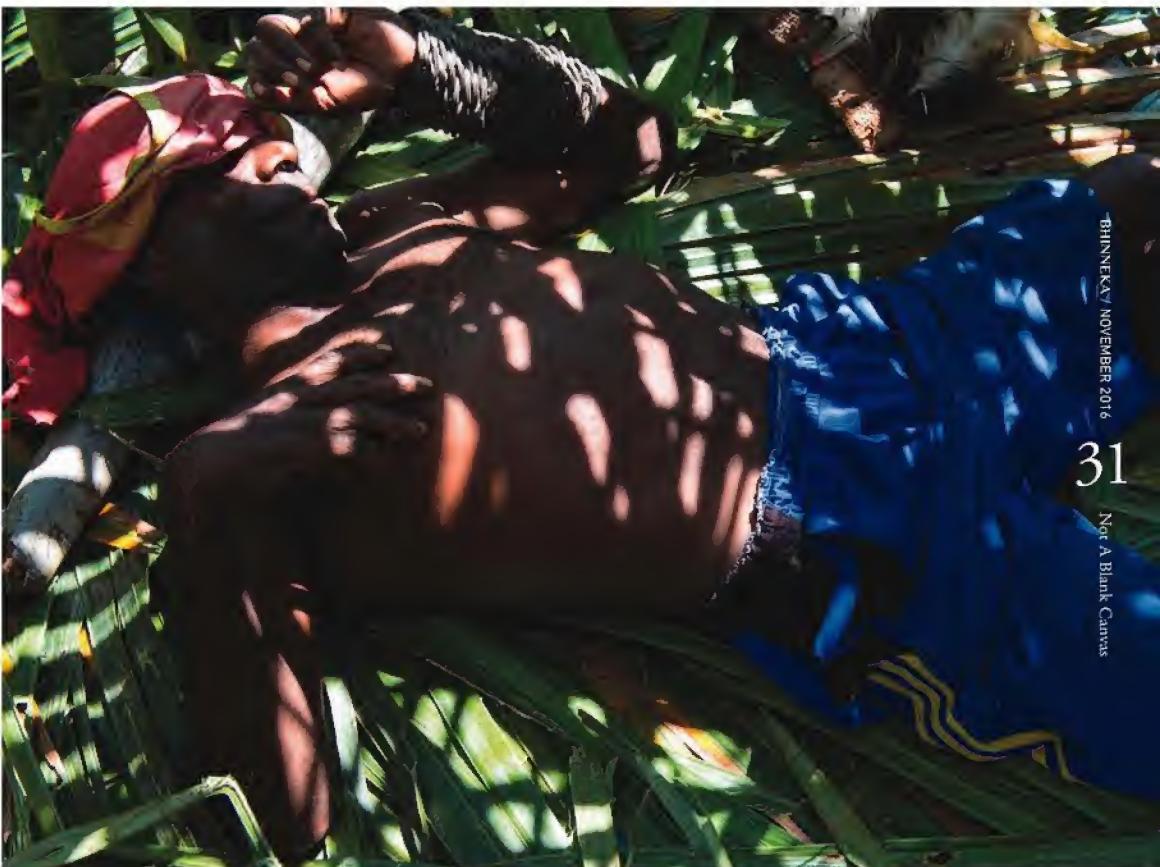
BUGS /  
MOMUGU, 2014

With humidity of 95%,  
Asmat is a host of thousands  
of species of insects,  
centipedes and millipedes.



**TOBIAS PIRAMAT IN HIS HOUSE  
IN SIMSAGAR SETTLEMENT /  
AGATS, 2013**

Tobias Piramat comes from the village Simsagar in the Casuarina Coast. He wanted to 'try his luck' doing business in Agats, but falls short as lack of understanding of common trade system in comparison to foreigners makes him and his family marginalised in the Simsagar settlement at the outskirts of Agats.



#### PICNIC AFTER THE JI MI FEAST / ER, 2015

Herman Er lies during 'picnic' in a nearby forest at the end of the Ji Mi feast, an Asmat friendship feast. As soon as men from the village arrived in the forest, they build up bivouacs resembling an Asmat jeu (longhouse) using nipa palms where villagers can rest after a long night-and-day celebration of the feast.

The Ji Mi feast celebrated in this instance, however, was paid Rp 9million (\$850) by the local government's tourism board (dinas pariwisata). Only the last segment of the feast was celebrated, which was against the traditional sacrilegious rites of Asmat feasts. When asked, the government representative claimed it was 'to finish an unfinished feast.'





**S L A U G H T E R E D /**  
**S O W A , 2 0 1 4**

A pig is being slaughtered. Pigs are prized commodity in Asmat. Wild pigs can set back about \$100 equivalent, while a 'pet' pig can cost over \$1,000.





## RAMADAN / ATSJ, 2014

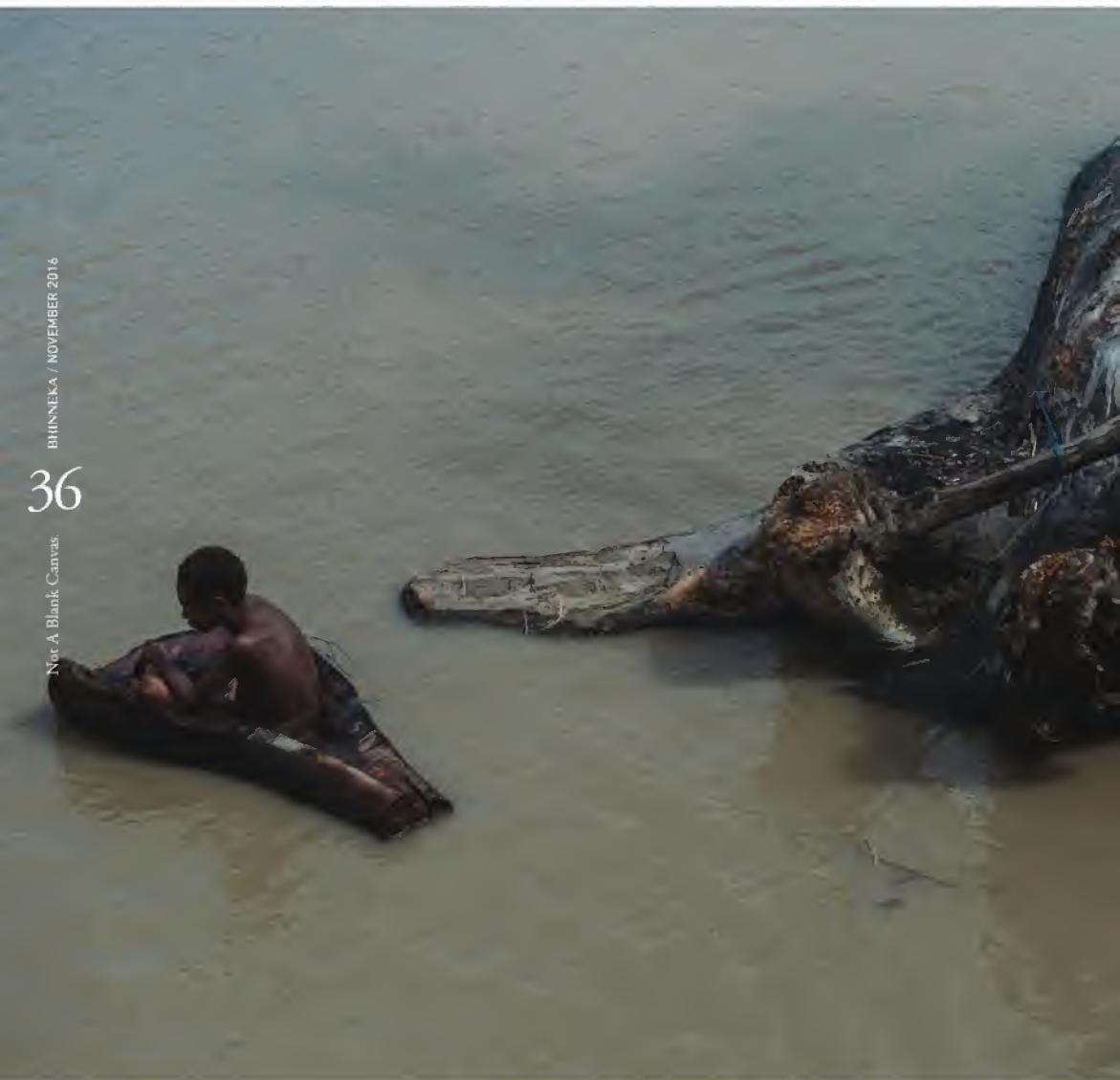
Indonesian Muslim foreigners (commonly Javanese, Bugis, Butonese, or Makassarese) celebrate Ramadan by shooting fireworks in the village of Atsj. There is only one mosque in Atsj, with nearly all attendees of the mosques being foreigners. Only one Asmat man in Atsj, Muhammad, converted to Islam, but he raises his children Catholic. Islam is the main religion of the foreigners living in Asmat. As Asmat is predominantly Catholic, the arrival of the foreigners create segregation between the Catholics and the Muslims. Some Asmat people are often bribed to join religious institutions, with a mere payment of instant noodles.



## SR MARIA GABRIELLIS PRR, THIRD DAY IN ASMAT / AMOMUGU, 2014

Sister Maria Gabriellis, a congregational Catholic nun, interacts with an Asmat in front of the Je Ti feasthouse construction in Momugu. Catholicism arrived in Asmat for the first time in 1953 and has been central to religious life in Asmat, although Asmats still cling onto their own religious feasts.

The Je Ti feasthouse, when checked in 2015, was unfortunately ordered to be torn down by the local parish priest, who believed they had violated their own sacrilegious rituals and thus offend their ancestors. The failure to complete the stages of the Je Ti feast also lead some to believe that it is the cause of the sudden widespread of leprosy attacking Momugu. The sisters are then called to help the leprosy sufferers.

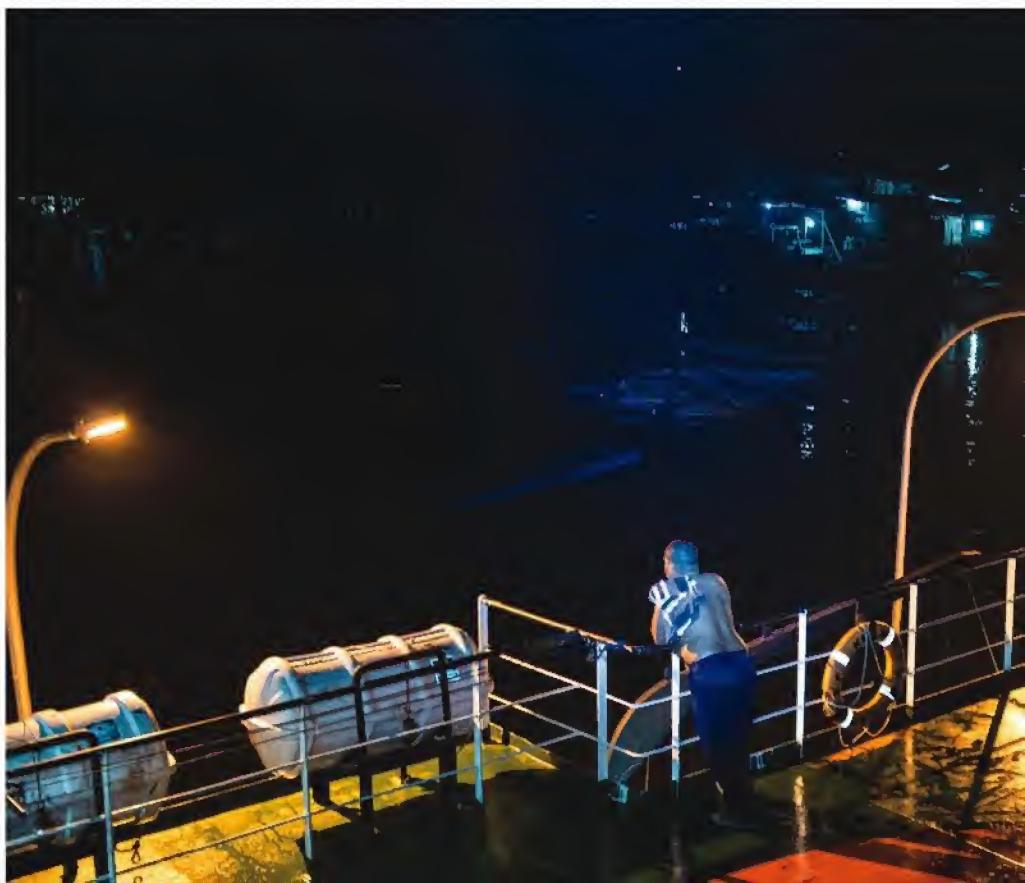




FROM THE TREE /  
ER, 2015

A boy floats on the river with the base of a sago tree, as a makeshift canoe where he paddles with both of his hands.

Excessive loggings in Asmat, both done by the Asmat and the traders alike, resulted in large amounts of logs floating all along the River Pomatsj, as well as other river and river channels elsewhere in Asmat.





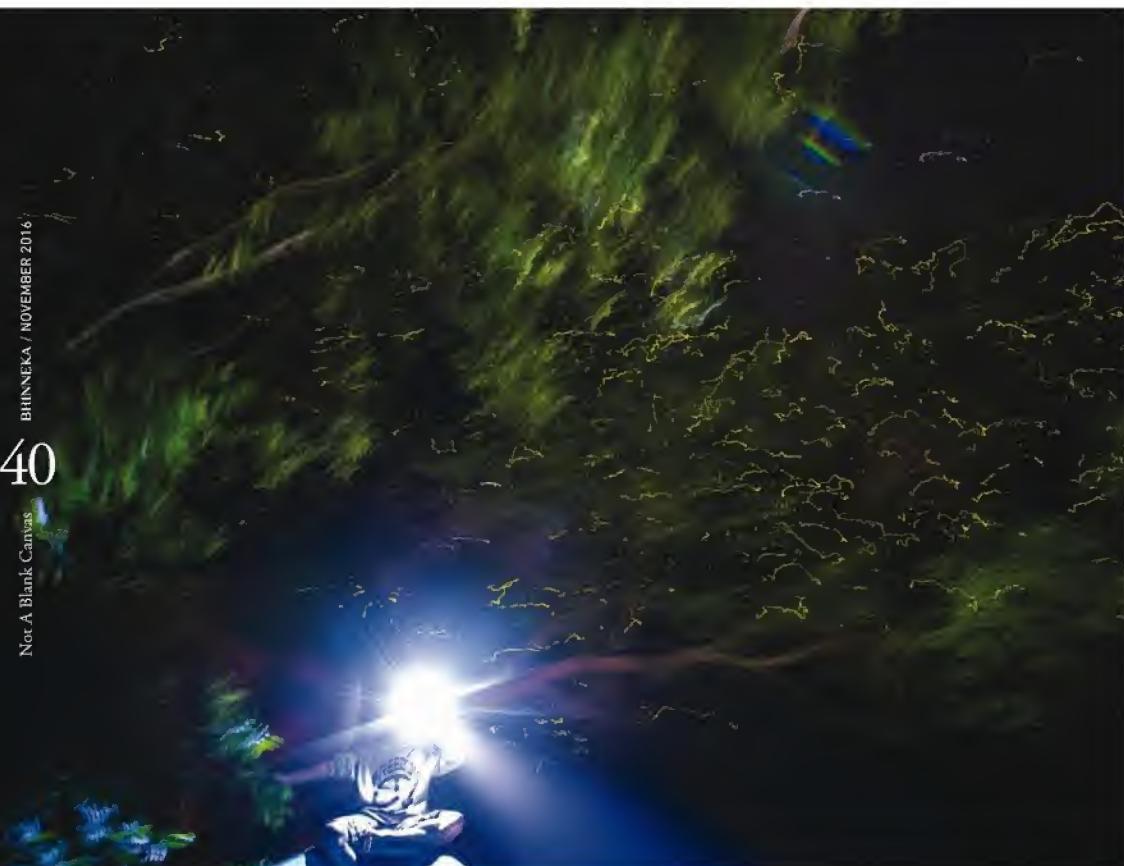
## BEGINNING OF LENT / ER, 2015

To mark the beginning of the Lent season,  
Er villagers pounds the Tifa (drums) all night.



## AGATS AT NIGHT FROM KMP MUYU SUPPLY SHIP / AGATS, 2014

Supply ships loaded with food and household supplies dock in by the quay in the Asmat capital of Agats. Supply ships often carry supplies needed for sale in foreigners' kiosks, where the price of things are constantly raised (due to high costs of transport to Agats) and makes it unaffordable for most Asmats.



### FIREFLIES / ATSJ, 2014

Fireflies fly around a Pohon Bintang (Indonesian for "star tree"), often found by the riverbanks in Asmat. People say the lights emitted from the fireflies resemble those of Christmas lights.

### JI MI FEAST / ER, 2015

A man from Er embellished in lime dance in the jeu (longhouse) in Er celebrating the last segment of the Ji Mi, an Asmat feast signifying friendship.

This particular feast, however, was subsidised by the local government to push the Er inhabitants to run it. Unlike traditional feasts where the idea of arranging a feast comes from contact with ancestors in the spirit world, or to pacify an ancestor's spirits, or to follow the cycle of the growth of the sago tree, this feast takes place from promised money. When the government who administered the feast came, the money promised to Er villagers were not fully brought in, leading to disappointments among the villagers.



**JOSHUA IRWANDI**

*An Indonesian photographer based in Asmat, West Papua, Indonesia. Currently, he is Museum Staff at the Asmat Museum of Culture of Progress, Agats. His photographs from Asmat have won me several workshop opportunities in 2014, namely Adam Broomberg / Oliver Chanarin workshop London, New York Times Portfolio Review NY, Magnum AGM Masterclass NY, Eddie Adams Workshop XVII NY, and VII Masterclass Milan. He became runner up of burn magazine Emerging Photographer Fund for Young Talent in 2015.*



# ULMWP AND THE INSURGENT PAPUA

This article was first published in Live Encounters Magazine Natural Rights December 2016. Copyright Dr Budi Hernawan

<http://liveencounters.net/2016-2/12-december-2016/1-dr-budi-hernawan-ulmwp-and-the-insurgent-papua/>

{ BUDI HERNAWAN }

**S**ince the United Liberation Movement for West Papua was established in December 2014 in Vanuatu, Papua's international diplomacy has gained a new momentum. Papua political factions no longer presented themselves in different voices but rather, it has come in a unified voice. The Saralana Declaration reflects a strong commitment of all three major Papuan political organisations, namely West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL), Federal Republic of West Papua (NFPB), West Papua National Parliament (WPNP). It states, "We declare and claim that all West Papuans, both inside and outside West Papua, are united under this new body and that we will continue our struggle for independence". While many critics and skeptics, who claim to be realists, remain unconvinced of the sustainability

and solidity of ULMWP, they argue that this might be just another episode of the Papuan factionalism. One umbrella organisation after another seems to be the pattern.

The critics might overlook the facts that the ULMWP has been effective in representing the Papuan political aspirations at the domestic and international fora just in two years. The ULMWP has secured international recognition from the Melanesian Spearhead Group and has gained more attention from the United Nations and the Pacific Island Forum. Papua has become an effective insurgency.

If we looked back to the Papuan Spring in 2000 when Papua gained much more space to express their political identity, the commitment to 'gain international recognition' was formulated during the 2nd Papuan Congress in Jayapura in June 2000.

*“We declare and claim that all West Papuans, both inside and outside West Papua, are united under this new body and that we will continue our struggle for independence*

”

During the Congress, which was politically and financially supported by the late Indonesian President Abdurahman Wahid, Papuans elected the Papuan Presidium Council as their leaders led by late Theys Eluay, who was assassinated by the Indonesia Special Forces. The Congress gave mandate to the Presidium:

[ 1 ] "to struggle for world recognition of the sovereignty of the Papuan people and for investigations into and the trial of the perpetrators of crimes against humanity in West Papua;

[ 2 ] to speedily set up an Independent Team to enter into peaceful negotiations with Indonesia and the Netherlands under the auspices of the United Nations for a referendum on recognition of the sovereignty of the Papuan people and Nation;

[ 3 ] to use available resources in Papua in a non-binding manner to fund endeavours to achieve the objectives of the struggle."

It took fifteen years before the Papuan leaders convinced the Pacific nations under the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG). During the 2015 MSG Summit hosted by Solomon Island in Honiara, the Forum gave an observer status to the ULMWP to the forum. The decision marked a historic moment for Papuans. Backed by Solomon Island popular and particularly churches' support, the Papua was born as an international legal entity. Since then, Papua no longer need Vanuatu or Solomon Island flags to raise their voices at this diplomatic forum because it has raised its Morning Star flag.

This year Papua is expecting a full-membership status at the MSG. The trajectory remains fragile. The proposal split the MSG leaders into two camps: Papua New Guinea and Fiji which are keen to maintain the status quo, on the one side, and Vanuatu, Solomon Island and the FLNKS on the other side, which envisage fundamental change for the forum. As the decision has

been deferred to be discussed by the end of this year, this development might reflect the irreconcilable differences within the MSG as they have to take decisions by consensus.

The Papua insurgency has only penetrated the MSG but more broadly, the Pacific Island Forum, the diplomatic forum that covers the whole Pacific nations. In the recent Pacific Forum Island's communiqué held in Phonpei, Federated Republic of Micronesia, PIF shed a new light on the issue of Papua, "Leaders recognised the political sensitivities of the issue of West Papua (Papua) and agreed the issue of alleged human rights violations in West Papua (Papua) should remain on their agenda. Leaders also agreed on the importance of an open and constructive dialogue with Indonesia on the issue."

The statement reflects the struggle of the Pacific leaders in dealing with Papua. On the one hand, they are concerned with "alleged human rights violations" but on the other hand, they are well aware that Papua is a "sensitive issue" for them. The sensitivity relates to their relations with Indonesia, a large and influential neighbour. For some PIF members, Indonesia provides a profitable market for their trade that sustains their domestic

economy particularly Australia, New Zealand, PNG, and Fiji. Its political influence has been seen as a bridge between Asia and the Pacific.

In a parallel move, Papua's influence has convinced seven UN member states from the Pacific spoke up. They raised their concerted voices on Papua during the prestigious 71st session of the UN General Assembly in New York last September. This was an unprecedented turn. Nauru started the intervention by highlighting the issue of human rights violations in Papua, followed by a newcomer in the discourse of Papua: the Marshall Islands.

Vanuatu, Tuvalu and the Solomon Islands followed suit and went one step further by specifically highlighting the issue of the right to self-determination for Papuans. Tonga emphasised the gravity of the problem and Palau, another novice, called for constructive dialogue with Indonesia to solve the Papua issue.

In other words, we might see another Papua Spring like we experienced in 2000. The question is whether the Spring will lead to Summer or back to Winter as we had in 2000 after Theys Eluay was assassinated? Many Papuans might believe that the progress is linear and irreversible so they put high expectations of the political process in the Pacific. The expectation is



understandable but it needs the ULWMP leaders to manage it. Further, we need to put it in a broader political dynamics of Indonesia.

As we know, however, in comparison to Aceh, which found peace settlement for its political dispute with Jakarta through the 2005 Helsinki Agreement mediated by the European Union, Papua remains experiencing negative peace. That is, Papuans only experience the absence of war but continue suffering from multipolar of violence. That is, the ongoing state-sponsored violence is not the only source of Papuans' grievances. They have confronted the increasing pressure of non-state actors that exploit their natural resources. The business interests of large corporations, particularly extractive industry, have put Papuans in a more

vulnerable position as the local governments continue issuing licences to these corporations with little consultation with the Papuans.

Once a business project is established, it attracts jobseekers from all over Indonesia to go to Papua to fill the job market. As we have seen Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Merauke, BP Gas Project in Bintuni, various timber industry in Sorong, and the classic example of Freeport Indonesia in Timika, any large business projects also mean a demographic shift as many skilled and non-skilled labor will enter Papua simply because Papua does not have enough manpower. The demographic shift without proper social and cultural mitigation on the part of the local governments has caused resentment and widening social gaps between different ethnic



groups in Papua that often lead to communal clashes. All of these different elements have merged into complex grievances that are not properly addressed by the Indonesian government.

At the international diplomacy, Indonesian diplomats simply deny the reality of human rights by referring to the state sovereignty argument. They overlook the unchanging reality of impunity on the ground in Papua. In the meantime, different ministries endorse overlapping and sometime opposing policies towards Papua. While President Joko Widodo endorsed open-door policy for Papua for international observers, the Indonesian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Indonesian Military remains reluctant to implement the President policy. Similarly, when victims of human rights violations and human rights organisations in Indonesia call for justice, the President appointed Wiranto the Coordinating Ministry for Security, Legal and Political Affairs who then promote non-judicial measures to address human rights abuses.

Given his alleged involvement in human rights abuses in East Timor, many are not so convinced that non-judicial manners will address the lingering question of impunity.

The non-monolith response from Jakarta suggests that it grapples with a formidable challenge in formulating and implementing a coherent policy to Papua. The situation illustrates that the domestic politics will unlikely change in the near future. It means that Jakarta will not be prepared to engage any meaningful discussion with Papua at either domestic or international levels. In this context, the ULWMP leadership will have to work hard. On the one hand, they have to navigate and negotiate with political powers in Jakarta and the Pacific, domestically they have also to deal with the expectations of their constituents. If the ULWMP leaders pass this ordeal, they will confirm their solidity. Otherwise, they might confirm the doubts of the critics and skeptics.

#### **Dr BUDI HERNAWAN**

Lecturer at Paramadina Graduate School of Diplomacy and Research Fellow at Abdurrahman Wahid Centre at University of Indonesia in Jakarta.

# FREEPORT

story & art  
by K. Jati

On a bright and sunny day in East Indonesia  
the people were happy and prosperous.

The people said that it's thanks  
to Freeport, a mining company that contributes  
to the progress of Papua.

Hello,  
brother!

The Grasberg Mines include the largest  
gold mine and the third largest copper  
mine in the world.

The mines are located in Arwanop  
in the Mimika regency in central  
West Papua, near Puncak Jaya.

But progress is not free!  
\*There is always a cost

At first, the Old Order Government was progressive and visionary in managing and looking after Indonesia's natural resources, especially the mines.

However, all did not go according to plan.

For the progress of Indonesia

Sacrifice them, General!

The change of regime in 1966 paved the way for large-scale foreign investments.

Ready, let's do it!

How is it going?

Wasn't it better during my governance?

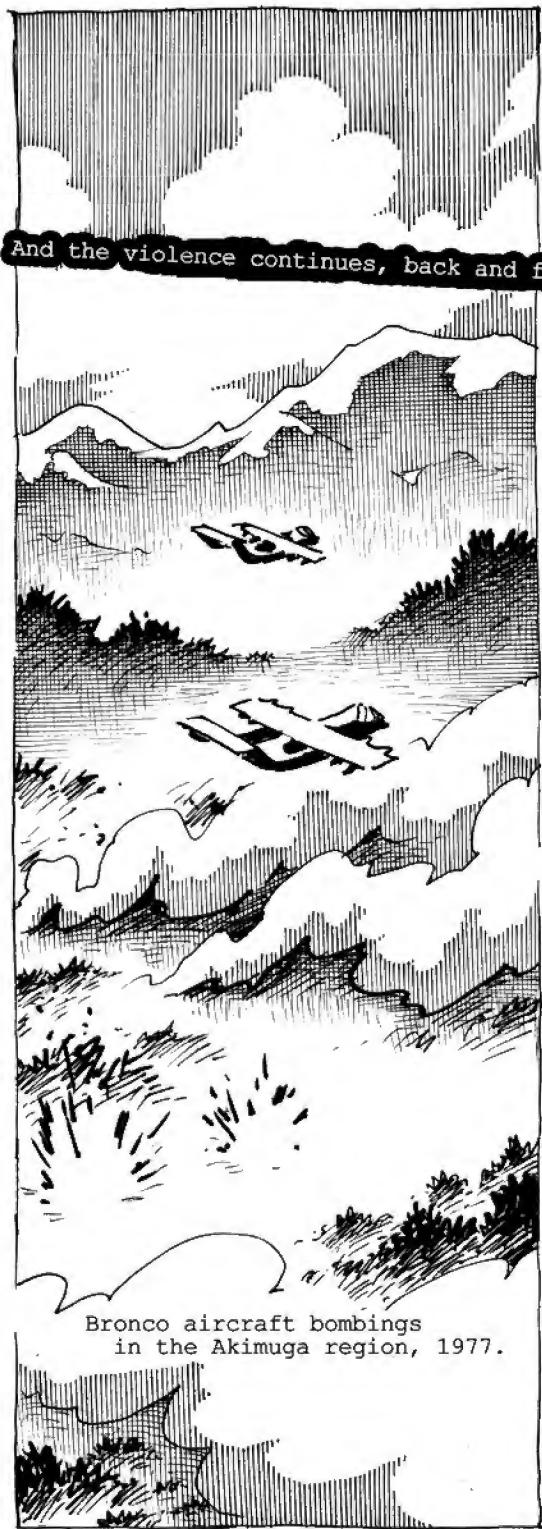
Freeport's contract is the first contract to be signed by Soeharto.

Counterinsurgency Operation, 1967

Attack!

Policies that are not based on public interest and are run solely in the interests of elites, create conflict.

And, as a result, a cycle of violence begins.



And the violence continues, back and forward...



Again and again.

The Free Papua Organization  
now consist of activists  
and militias.



At some point  
in time...

...the situation stabilizes  
and is under control.



But elsewhere many things are still being debated.  
Each perspective is contradicted by another perspective  
and another perspective. And so on ... so on.





The Grasberg  
open-pit mine has  
a circumference  
of  $\pm 4,270$  m

In fact, 150,000-400,000 people have been killed during the 54 years of conflict in Papua since 1962.

Strikes, attacks by protesters, blocking roads, clashing with police, and sabotage of pipelines occurred in a number of places...

The American Institute for Economic Research ranks Freeport- McMoran at number 41

There are reports that Freeport paid dividends to the police and army to keep the mine secure.

And that they worked with the intelligence agencies to intercept phone conversations and emails of environmental activists.

of the worst corporate producer of air pollution, based on the quantity of emissions in 2013.

Capitalism:  
For what?

What will the future hold for generations to come when all of our natural resources are gone?



FIN  
KUAN  
2016

# THERE'S A STORY IN THE WARDROBE

{ Tengku Arly Dipantara }

Translated by **Matt Easton**



The wardrobe was already there when Julia Rachma moved into a room in her new home. But seeing the ancient condition it was in, she urged her father to just take it to a museum.

Musim kembang 1965 di Nolo, sebuah desa dekat pasar Surabaya.

*"You know, it belongs to the old owner. And you should know, that man bought the wardrobe when he became a member of parliament. It must have been expensive. There's no way it wasn't."*

*"If it's valuable, why was it left behind, Pa?"*

*"Maybe he was tired of it. You know, that bapak is a minister by now. What use is a wardrobe like that to him? Julia, come on! It's just a wardrobe, why make it into such a big deal, huh? It doesn't make your nice big room too crowded, does it?"*

Julia felt her father's words were meant to tease her. She knew very well her father didn't like being challenged, and this made her decide to end her pointless defiance. True, it was only a wardrobe that couldn't move, she thought.

The nights passed, and soon Julia again began to protest the presence of the wardrobe.

*"When I turn off the lights, there's a green light coming out of the wardrobe, Papa!"*

After careful investigation, the green glow seemed to come from a phosphorescent paint that coated part of the wardrobe's surface, which shone in the dark. Once again, her father pushed her to not act like a spoiled little child. But ever since the appearance of the green light, Julia couldn't deceive herself any longer. She felt uneasy.

To show the wardrobe that she was the one in charge of her room, Julia decided to padlock it. She also stuck black tape all over the surface of the wardrobe with the phosphorescent paint. But instead of calming things down, the moment she tried to sleep the wardrobe released a riot of voices!

\*\*\*

**S**Before moving to the new house, and occupying the room with the ominous wardrobe, Julia Rachma considered her bedroom the place that most inspired her to write short stories or poems. Her desk was to be placed accordingly, just facing the window. She had asked her father to make sure the window was not covered with bars. The glass also had to be smooth and clean. This way, when the rain came down she felt the drops were falling directly in front of her eyes.

Julia Rachma admitted that she often conversed with the rain, of course in a language they had already agreed upon. And, of course that only they understood. Her father often found her laughing when the rain came down. When rainbows curved beautifully after the rain subsided, she strummed them with tapering fingers, saving their colors in a heart-shaped box. She often etched strands of the rainbow on the streets that her characters bicycled down with unbridled joy.

Besides rain and rainbows, she also loved dusk. She believed she could slice up the dusk, like Seno Gumira Ajidarma, and give it to a lover, who knows who, who knows where. For hours she sat as quiet as a statue, fixing her gaze on the dusk that reddened the evening sky. She would blush, pulled up toward the hollow sky.

One other thing made her comfortable spending hours in her bedroom: the flash of fireflies in the shade of the night. These small points of light in the pitch dark gave her the strength to express her own suffering and grief. If the rain was cheerful, the night was melancholy. She believed the thousands of fireflies that passed silently beyond her window were fragments of the hearts of lovers that had foundered short of reaching their goal. She was horrified when she imagined the fireflies were the reincarnated souls of people that had died, like the ones Agus Noor wrote about.

From her ability to record and describe natural phenomenon arose moving works that captured the unease in the hearts of people in the city, and their efforts to find catharsis.

And then her ability to write suddenly evaporated due to that damned wardrobe. She complained to the fireflies that her ears could no longer capture the ripples of human laughter intertwined with the patter of raindrops.

Her tapering fingers could no longer strum the rainbows that hung heavy in the sky. Even the gaze of her eyes, which once could pierce the evening sky, now suddenly was myopic and unfocused.

Soon after those voices emerged from the wardrobe, Julia heard whispers from behind the window.

*"Let it go, Julia!"*

*"Ignore it!"*

*"Shut your ears. Close your eyes!"*

*"You'll regret if you open it, Julia!"*

She rushed to the window, where she encountered a crow perched on the branch of a guava tree. A group of fireflies that had been her companions in protest now seemed to be circling in the depths of the night, moving slowly, then swooping quickly towards her. Julia was more than a little surprised. She closed her eyes abruptly. When she opened them, she could see nothing out there. It was as dark as a sewer.

The next night the whispers returned. And their tone became ever more threatening, making the hair on the nape of her neck stand on end.

*"You're done for if you open the wardrobe, Julia!"*

*"Finished! Finished! Every story you write will be destroyed!"*

*"Burn the wardrobe, Julia!"*

Julia remained silent. She didn't know what she should do. She could only sob, covering her face with a pillow.

DTThe next night the whispers forgot to come to her, and she resolved to unlock the mystery herself. Two options swam about in her head: just get rid of the wardrobe, or open it first. She had to reject the first choice after picturing her father with a disparaging smile on his face. That left only the second option. Although she hated it with all her heart, she couldn't deny that she was curious about what was inside that wardrobe.

On a rainy Sunday morning, she stood squarely before the wardrobe, holding the padlock key with both hands. She shut her eyes, and steeled her heart to be ready to witness truth in its fullest form..

Then...

*"Ooooh, Nona. Finally!" A shriek resounded through the room.*

*"My house is going to be torn down, Nona. We are going to be cast off our own land!" added another voice,*

*"They are discarding us, Nona. Promises to save us were just lies!*

*"We are the ones who plant rice, but we can't afford to boil even a handful of it, Nona!"*

*"Why must it be like this, Nona? Answer us, Nona!"*

*"Give voice to our sorrow, Nona! Speak! Don't remain quiet! Tell the whole world, that we are not invisible among them! We live and we breathe in their midst!" tengah-tengah mereka!"*

Julia Rachma opened her eyes and stared, her mouth agape. She swallowed, seeing a contingent of people: old and young, women and men, scrawny babies nursing at their mothers' breasts, all in rags, struggling to free themselves from ropes that seemed so tight. All kinds of curses, questions, and accusations pierced her ears. In the blink of an eye, dusk-fireflies-rainbow-rain, they all suddenly melted into shapeless fragments. At that moment she saw a man with a bapang moustache and a blangkon that looked funny perched on his head; he burst from the midst of these unlucky people, and stood up straight before her. He had undeniable force, this man. His face radiated a greatness that was difficult to describe. Julia felt catapulted into an unknown era. Suddenly, the chest of the man with the moustache swelled, and he cried out in a thick Javanese accent:

*"Let me introduce myself, Nona. My name is Minke. This is truly the earth of mankind. Come, help me make their footsteps safe, these children of all nations, trapped in a glass house of injustice!"*

\*\*\*

## EAST JAVA

### Surabaya

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### Malang

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& Itiz Mawon  
[f](#) Bhinneka Malang

### Tuban

Coordinator: Kwang Yen Lie  
(08573331666)  
[f](#) Bhinneka Tuban

### Kediri

Coordinator: Ockie Aryanto Genegus  
[f](#) Bhinneka Kediri

### Gresik

Coordinator: Syaifi Adnan  
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Coordinator: Susi Erawati  
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### Rantau Prapat

Coordinator: Iwan Riswan  
[f](#) Bhinneka Rantau Prapat

## OUTSIDE OF INDONESIA:

### Vancouver- Canada

Coordinator: Agus Budiwian  
(+1- 604 - 777 7821;  
agusbudiwan56@yahoo.ca)

### San Francisco (USA)

Coordinator: Maya Novarini  
(mayanovarini@gmail.com)

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